

TABLE 7															
AN ESTIMATE OF THE IMPACT OF THE CUT BACKS FOR 1982															
Money flows in thousands of dollars.															
INPUTS	OUTPUTS	1. Manufacturing	2. Utilities	3. Building	4. Transport	5. Communication	6. Commerce	7. Public Authority	8. Business Services	9. Personal Services	10. University	11. University Population	12. Households	13. Unallocated	14. Outside
1. Manufacturing			2455.2				192				132	614	86		
2. Utilities			158.4				185				1248	1082	—		
3. Building			2059				211				21094	686	2060		
4. Transport			297				508				436	330	—		
5. Communication			52.8				244				496	528	—		
6. Commerce			5412				4092				2204	15530	3960		
7. Public Authority			99				80				231	100	2904		
8. Business Services			26				66				60	2336	0		
9. Personal Services			26				20				0	1432	383		
10. University	0	0	0		205	0	0	0	0	0	0	9557	0		54107
11. University Population	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	30512	0	0		9662
12. Households			4356				5511				60	514	0		
13. Unallocated															
14. Outside			514				132				1238	6574	—		

TABLE 8	
AN ESTIMATE OF LABOUR INPUTS INTO THE UNIVERSITY INDUSTRY FOR 1980	
SECTOR	LABOUR INPUTS (MAN YEARS)
1. Manufacturing	106
2. Utilities	368
3. Building	3,294
4. Transport	340
5. Communication	562
6. Commerce	2,237
7. Public Authority	23
8. Business Services	1,690
9. Personal Services	1,591
10. Universities	11,782*
TOTAL	21,933

TABLE 9	
LABOUR INPUTS LOST IN THE CUTBACKS TO THE UNIVERSITY INDUSTRY FOR THE YEAR 1982	
SECTOR	LABOUR INPUTS (MAN YEARS)
1. Manufacturing	5
2. Utilities	17
3. Building	152
4. Transport	16
5. Communication	26
6. Commerce	103
7. Public Authority	1
8. Business Services	78
9. Personal Services	74
10. Universities	1,017
TOTAL	1,489

*CTEC Report for 1982-84
Vol. 2, Part 2 Advice of Councils August 1981.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC: CONTEXT, PURPOSE & PROSPECT

For the last four hundred years, Europeans took their cultures, their languages and themselves to the farthest reaches of the planet, in the most extensive cultural and demographic diaspora in human history. Now that societies around the world are slowly emerging from their colonial cocoon, old, implanted institutions, developed in Europe for European needs, are being challenged to come to terms with new conditions and rising expectations in the Third World.

Along with the separate armed forces, the national airline, and overseas delegations, the newly independent states have founded educational establishments to prepare their populations to cope with the information and other revolutions that are currently transforming societies everywhere. Primary and secondary education are artefacts of the colonial era, while higher education is largely a post-World War II phenomenon. This increase in post-secondary education has been world-wide, shared by countries both rich and poor. Most of the world's six thousand post-secondary institutions are of recent origin.¹ Of these, some 743 are universities,² with nearly half being in the Commonwealth alone.³ By member institutions, the majority (82) are in Asia, with smaller numbers in Europe (55), Canada and the Caribbean (45), Africa (30), and Australasia and the Pacific (29).⁴

The insular South Pacific, with its fifteen states and territories (see Table 2 and Figure One) is as divided today as it was one hundred years ago, though discernable blocks related to first and second world powers have certain similarities, particularly in terms of the post-secondary establishments that serve them.

Roughly speaking, American dominated Micronesia (and Samoa) has the University of Guam, Australian oriented western Melanesia has the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG), but the French speaking islands have only technical colleges, the university sector being located in metropolitan France itself. The countries of central and western Polynesia, and eastern Melanesia, heavily influenced by New Zealand, even in primary and secondary school curricula and examinations, rely on the University of the South Pacific (USP) to serve as the modern training centre for their various national elites.

This article focuses on the University of the South Pacific (USP), located in Fiji just outside Suva, a Third World University with just over a decade of life and, along with the University of the West Indies in the Caribbean, one of the few multi-national institutions of its kind. Before going on to

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present some features of USP, I provide the Pacific context for its development and current operation. In my discussion below, I do not propose to attempt for USP what Howie-Willis and Meek do for UPNG.⁵ Rather, I sketch in outline the main known features of the story, especially as they relate to current operations. My closing remarks regarding questions of academic freedom and institutional purpose are intended as an appraisal of the operation of USP, based upon my personal association with it.⁶

Pacific Post-Secondary Institutions

The most comprehensive listing of post-secondary and vocational training for the Pacific was produced in loose-leaf form in 1978, as a joint project of the South Pacific Commission and the International Labour Office.⁷ Using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO), the Directory lists details of 900 programmes, from University courses to short-term, in-service exercises, given in government departments. The courses offered by the universities, colleges, institutes, schools, and centres cover a broad range from Agriculture to Zoology. Most of the 139 institutions tend each to have an area of concentration, with the exception of the 7 multi-purpose establishments.⁸ As multi-purpose, I would list the following:

American Samoa Community College
Atenisi Institute
Community College of Micronesia
Papua New Guinea University of Technology
University of Guam
University of Papua New Guinea
University of the South Pacific

Excluding those seven, the remaining 132 government and privately run institutions in the French and English speaking parts of the Pacific tend to concentrate in the following areas:

TABLE 1: Classification of post-secondary institutions in the South Pacific	
Type of Training	Number
Trades	44
Health Workers	29
Agricultural & Fisheries	19
Teacher	16
Clerical	13
Religious	11
TOTAL	132

Table 2 shows the number of such institutions in each country or territory, the population most directly served, and the ratio of population to post-secondary institutions.

TABLE 2: Distribution of Post-Secondary Institutions

Country or Territory	No. Institutions	Population	Ratio of pop. to Inst.
American Samoa	1	31,400	1/31,000
American Territories in Micronesia including Guam	3	232,500	1/108,000
Cook Islands	1	18,500	1/
Fiji	11	619,000	1/56,000
French Polynesia	14	144,000	1/10,000
Kiribati	5	57,300	
Nauru	3	7,300	1/2,000
New Caledonia	5	139,000	1/28,000
Niue	3	3,600	1/1,000
Papua New Guinea	48	3,079,000	1/64,000
Solomon Islands	11	221,200	1/20,000
Tonga	10	95,800	1/10,000
Tuvalu	0	7,400	—
Vanuatu	13	114,500	1/9,000
Western Samoa	11	155,000	1/14,000
TOTAL	139	4,925,500	1/35,000

Sources: Government Departments of Education, ESCAP 1981, SPC/ILO 1978.

Possibly due to population size, with the exception of Tuvalu, the smaller territories have the best ratios, though the smallest institutions. Amongst the more populous places, Solomon Islanders fare better than their cousins of similar number in Micronesia. Though Papua New Guinea has the greatest number of institutions, its large population gives it a very low ratio. New Caledonians seem much more disadvantaged than their compatriots (in terms of citizenship) in French Polynesia. These figures in Table 2 are intended to provide only a broad idea of the post-secondary education situation on the Pacific issues and they have obvious limitations, the areas being very diverse, with comparison at this level being difficult to make.

First, in my classification, I take no account of the size of the training establishments, merely listing them as apparently equal integers. Thus, the Tonga Health Training Centre had only seven students in 1980 while the University of the South Pacific (as we see below) had some 8740 students, full and part-time, in its various programmes, on and off campus.

Secondly, the kind of training provided is not taken into account, for only the larger countries, such as Vanuatu, Fiji, and Papua New Guinea, for example, attempt to offer the full range of training in their countries.

Finally, these island states and territories vary in

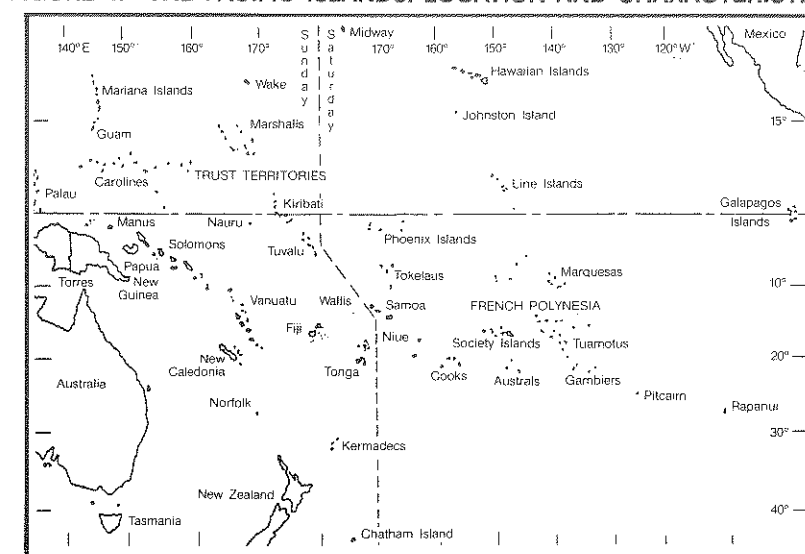
land area from huge Papua New Guinea, at 461,693 sq. km., to tiny Nauru, at 22 sq. km., (see figure one). The educational establishments tend to concentrate around the capitals or their immediate vicinities. Thus, the most complete facilities are available to those in the towns. Those in the rural areas, for the most part, must come to urban areas to obtain qualifications.

The above situation is due to two physical facts of the South Pacific that strongly influence, if not often determine, conditions in the region: the distances between settlements and the generally small size of towns and villages, if not entire countries.

A glance at the map of the Pacific (see Figure 1) shows how the countries and territories of the region are scattered across enormous distances of water or air space. In the initial stages of civil aviation, it looked as though rapid communications might be achieved, but the escalation of fuel costs, beginning in the early 1970s, dashed such hopes. The small size of many Pacific populations means that it is simply not economic to offer a training facility outside of the more populous places.

One solution to this problem, and we will see that it is the one adopted by USP⁹ is to work towards extension or distance education programmes, which can function, even without local personnel, carried out by the students themselves.

FIGURE 1: THE PACIFIC ISLANDS: LOCATION AND CHARACTERISTICS



Territory	Capital	Population	Languages Spoken	Type of Government	Area km ²
American Samoa	Pago Pago	30,000	English/Polynesian	Unincorporated Territory of U.S.	197
Australia	Canberra	13,026,000	English	Independent State, British Commonwealth	7,686,850
Carolines	Kolonia	55,750	English/Micronesian	U.S. Trust Territory	606
Cooks	Avarua	19,000	Polynesian/English	Self governing free state, associated with New Zealand	240
Fiji	Suva	592,000	English/Fijian/Hindustani	Independent State, British Commonwealth	18,272
French Polynesia	Papeete	140,000	French/Polynesian	Autonomous Overseas territory of France	4,000
Galapagos	Puerto Baquerizo	4,058	Spanish	Province of Ecuador	7,812
Guam	Agana	102,057	English/Micronesian	Unincorporated Territory of U.S.	549
Hawaii	Honolulu	901,000	English	State of U.S.	16,638
Kiribati	Bairiki	54,400	Micronesian/English	Independent State, British Commonwealth	719
Marianas	Garapan	13,076	English/Micronesian	U.S. Trust Territory	479
Marshalls	Majuro Atoll	23,166	English/Micronesian	U.S. Trust Territory	180
Nauru	"Town Center"	7,100	Micronesian/English	Independent State, Associate Member British Commonwealth	22
New Caledonia	Noumea	135,000	Melanesian/French	Overseas Territory of France	19,103
New Zealand	Wellington	2,862,631	English/Polynesian	Independent State, British Commonwealth	268,675
Niue	Alofi	4,000	English/Polynesian	Self-governing Commonwealth, Free Association with New Zealand	259
Norfolk	Kingston	1,500	English	Australian Territory	35
Palau	Koror	12,153	English/Micronesian	U.S. Trust Territory	487
Papua New Guinea	Port Moresby	2,928,000	English/Melanesian	Independent State, British Commonwealth	461,693
Pitcairn	Adamstown	65	English	British Dependency	4.5
Rapanui	Hanga Roa	1,800	Polynesian/Spanish	Dependency of Chile	117
Samoa	Apia	155,000	Polynesian/English	Independent State, British Commonwealth	2,934
Solomons	Honiara	206,000	English/Melanesian	Independent State, British Commonwealth	28,530
Tokelau	(Dispersed)	1,687	Polynesian/English	New Zealand Dependency	10
Tonga	Nukualofa	92,360	Polynesian/English	Independent Kingdom, British Commonwealth	697
Torres Strait	Thursday Island	6,100	English/Miriama/Mabuiag	Australian Possession	650
Tuvalu (Ellice)	Funafuti	7,500	Polynesian/English	Independent State, British Commonwealth	26
Vanuatu	Vila	99,500	Melanesian/French/English	Independent State, British Commonwealth	14,763
Wake	Wake	3,000	English	U.S. Possession	12
Wallis & Futuna	Mata Uta	9,700	Polynesian/French	French Territories	124

Source: Pacific Guide No. 1: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus, Laie, Hawaii 96762 USA.

Many of the institutions listed in the 1978 *Directory* do accept non-local students, though only a few of these post-secondary establishments directed themselves at the onset to the regional role.

The University of Guam encourages foreign students and, in its Calendar, speaks of a regional role, though other parts of the document seem to suggest that this 'region' is the American dominated Micronesian states, republics, and territories. The Fiji School of Medicine, formerly the Central Medical School, was a regional institution, but that feature of it has tended to diminish in recent years according to some commentators.¹⁰ In religious training the Pacific Theological College is both regional and inter-denominational. There are a few others of a similar nature given under the miscellaneous heading in the ESCAP listing.¹¹

The University of the South Pacific

In terms of diversity, intent, and size, the premier, regional, post-secondary institution is USP, serving a constituency of 11 countries and territories. The regional character of funding, consultation, and programmes is emphasised constantly at USP, though this role frequently is subject to discussion and criticism, both of a positive and a negative sort.

USP serves the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tokelau group, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa; that is, the former British (broadly speaking) territories of the

TABLE 3: USP on campus enrolment (by country) as of 1 April 1981

COUNTRY	TOTAL
Cook Islands	19
Fiji	1484
Kiribati	63
Nauru	2
Niue	12
Solomon Islands	89
Tokelau	2
Tonga	98
Tuvalu	36
Vanuatu	28
Western Samoa	131
American Samoa	1
O Australia	6
Caroline Islands	1
T Ethiopia	3
India	1
H Marshall Islands	1
New Caledonia	2
E New Zealand	3
Papua New Guinea	5
R Philippines	1
Spain	1
S United Kingdom	4
Zimbabwe	10
GRAND TOTAL	2003

Source: Academic Office, USP.

Pacific. It still chafes citizens of those countries, though, that Fiji immigration laws discriminate against both regional staff and students, giving them a foreign status at the institution. Like universities elsewhere, USP accepts students from any country; staff, too, derive, in part, from overseas, though the largest single block (of students too) are Fiji citizens. In addition to the 11 participating countries, USP in 1981 had students enrolled from 13 other countries (see Table 3).

But it is primarily as a South Pacific regional institution to which its operations are directed and, incidentally, for which most of its foreign aid funded building programme derives. With the exception of three New Caledonian students (the enrolment statistics are incorrect) the University is intended for an English speaking Pacific community.⁴

USP originated from recommendations in the Morris Report submitted in 1966 by a Higher Education Mission (from Britain) to the South Pacific, though the full plan of operation did not appear until the following year as the *Report of the University of the South Pacific* by Sir Norman Alexander.¹² The first students were admitted in 1968 and the Royal Charter was granted by the Queen in 1970. The first 32 graduates received their degrees in 1971.

The University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) and USP are part of the expansion of tertiary education in the 1960s, throughout the world. The difference is that while UPNG was the result of wide consultation and well-publicised discussion¹³, USP seemed to come 'out of the blue' as one report put it.¹⁴ There are many associated with USP today who feel that decisions on policy and practice continue to be presented in this fashion, as I discuss below in the context of a code of conduct for academic staff recently debated.

Aside from reaction in Fiji in early May of 1966 to the report of (now) Lord Morris and his team, and an editorial in the London *Times*, the earliest public discussion of USP was in *Pacific Islands Monthly* (PIM) of June 1966. The article notes the lack of consultation and expresses severe scepticism that USP could get off the ground at all. Even at that early stage, UPNG and USP were decided on separate courses though issues of finance and duplication of effort were noted in comparing the two institutions. At the same time, the Pacific Theological College (PTC), opened as 'the first advanced college of theological education anywhere in the world that is fully ecumenical'.¹⁵ PTC, sources at the time suggested, was to have become a Faculty of Theology of USP, which it never did. Similarly, the association noted so desirably in the Alexander Report, that the Fiji School of Medicine should become a part of USP, failed to come to pass for many years. Only in 1981 were tentative steps taken in that direction, after considerable debate and discussion within both institutions.

The inaugurations of UPNG and USP also differed in the ways their respective governments welcomed them as new institutions. At UPNG where the lecture rooms opened in 1967, politicians were reported as being sceptical of both the costs and purpose of the institution. PIM reports that members of the Papua New Guinea Assembly were concerned that UPNG would be filled with great numbers of overpaid academics forcing radical ideas into 'black skulls' not ready to receive them.¹⁶ Howie-Willis informs us that this sort of suspicion continued to exist between the government and UPNG for some time.¹⁷

In Fiji, by contrast, members of the Legislative Assembly in Suva welcomed USP, though they squabbled over whether the Government or the Opposition had been responsible for its inception.¹⁸ The plan to guide the young University in Fiji was the Report to the Legislative Council by Alexander (1967) and was far reaching in its vision.⁵ Higher degrees (MA, M.Sc. and Ph.D) for example, were recommended to begin 'as soon as possible', though more than a decade later only a handful of such qualifications have been awarded.

In 1968, USP began with 85 students in residence and 210 day students, in contrast to UPNG's beginnings the previous year with 190 enrolments.¹⁹ If UPNG can be noted for its close contacts with Australia (and Australian academic institutions and their staff), then USP is characterised by a strong New Zealand connection, from its first buildings in the Royal New Zealand Air Force flying-boat base to its early staff. The first USP Vice-Chancellor, Dr Colin Aikman, was Professor of Jurisprudence and Constitutional Law and Dean of the Law Faculty at the Victoria University of Wellington. In the *South Pacific Bulletin*, Alexander²⁰ described his ideas about USP and detailed his involvement with its beginnings. Without exception, all of the buildings pictured in that article are still in use in 1982, though for different purposes, except for the staff and student quarters, which remain from that era.

Two years later, on 4 March 1970, the Queen presented a Royal Charter to USP, making official the institution's foundation. The description of the occasion by the then (and still) Professor of English is accompanied by a clause by clause enumeration of the Charter, with some comments about its application.²¹ The new university was also the birthplace of its own journal, *Pacific Perspective*, which continues more than ten years later. The first graduation ceremony, presided over by the first Chancellor, King Taufa'ahau of Tonga, featured about two score graduates receiving their degrees before an audience of 2,000 relatives and onlookers.

Relatively little has been written about USP as such, though one early article by an American observer is enthusiastic about this experiment in

tertiary education.²² Aside from that, there have been occasional notes, such as the one concerning Fiji's decision to cut its grant to USP in 1974,²³ but there seems to have been relatively little attention paid to some of the larger issues that have cropped up over time.

Perhaps the most significant event in 1974 was the conflict between the (then) Professor of Education and Vice-Chancellor Aikman, resulting in student demonstrations and other disruptions. In the end, both Aikman and the Professor departed, Trinidadian James Maraj being hired as Vice-Chancellor in 1975.

Maraj, then 44 years old, was with the Commonwealth Assistant Secretary General, and brought with him experience as the Head of the University of the West Indies Institute of Education, where, in his reported words, he learned 'to walk between the raindrops and not get too wet'.²⁴ The Vice-Chancellor designate was quite frank when he recognised that some of his ideas on universities might be received 'as heresy'. His declared approach at USP was to be regional and action-oriented. He is reported to have said

Universities must concern themselves with the burning issues of the day, not necessarily by adopting postures, but at least by generating the background knowledge against which important decisions could be taken.

To implement this *credo* Maraj proposed establishing a development institute, which exists today as the Centre for Applied Studies in Development (CASD). He also hoped to see USP become more Pacific in character and to develop staff to take over from the (mainly New Zealand) faculty it then had.²⁵ It also became clear from that interview that the Vice-Chancellor intended to conduct continuing campaigns to raise funding and that this would be accomplished by more than 'just doing a round trip through these struggling communities (of the Pacific) and saying: "Well, here I am".'

Maraj presented his views in much greater detail in his 'Statement to the University'²⁶ and ideas expressed in that inaugural lecture, for that is what it was, are still being worked out, if they have not already been accomplished in his just over six years in office. A generally congratulatory *Tenth Anniversary Review* was submitted to the University Council in 1979, under the Chairmanship of Sir Hugh Springer (1979), much of its contents mirroring Maraj's intentions.²⁷

A major part of the University's operations is the Extension (or 'distance education') programme and there are short notes about tutorials by satellite published from time to time,²⁸ which detail some of the features of the programme. Some years later, a similarly laudatory article by Peter Worsley, who visited USP to do a comprehensive

Review of the sociology programme, appeared.²⁹ These articles have tended to concentrate upon the technology in the programme rather than consider personnel and pedagogical issues involved. Some recognition of USP's importance, perhaps, in the distance education field was shown when the Forum of the Australian and South Pacific External Studies Association (ASPESA) was held at USP in 1981.

Throughout the history of USP, the dominance of Fiji in the financial and student life of the institution has been noted with some concern. Fiji finances about three quarters of the University's recurrent budget and dominates in about the same percentage the enrolments. However, in terms of regional Pacific Island staff, the overwhelming majority are Fiji citizens. Most of the physical plant, save for the School of Agriculture at Alafua in Western Samoa, and the USP Centres in the Cooks, Kiribati, Niue, Solomons, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa, are located at Laucala Bay, just a few kilometres from central Suva. Fiji Government immigration policies have made it virtually impossible at the present time for non-Fiji citizens to obtain tenure as staff members, and students from the region must (from 1981) have permission from Fiji immigration to enter the country prior to their arrival at the beginning of the year.

This has led a few observers to wonder if what happened to the Fiji School of Medicine might not happen also at USP,³⁰ and whether, when USP has been built up sufficiently, Fiji may not acquire even more control over the place.

In Fiji, too, there has been some dissatisfaction with the regional character of USP. In April 1981, Dr Shaukat Ali Sahib, founder-principal of Nadi College, Fiji, announced that in 1982 he planned to open a University of Fiji, on the other side of the principal island (Viti-Levu) on which USP is situated. Dr Ali Sahib is quoted as saying that, 'There is a need for Fiji to protect itself from some of the possible negative effects of Pacific regionalism'. He felt that Fiji citizens of high ability were being excluded from USP either as students or as top academics and that the regional University was too expensive for students.³¹

Such controversy and dissatisfactions, though, are relatively minor and come and go as their reporting tickles the local newspapers' fancy.³² When such debates originate with USP, they are often part of what van den Bergh calls 'Academic gamesmanship', part of the larger 'academic politics' that have characterised most tertiary institutions for many years.³³ To date, the USP story has been a successful one, with rising enrolments and, with 1981's class, 2370 graduates.

Table 4, 'Enrolments statistics' shows how the official figure of 134 students in 1968 has increased over tenfold in 1981.

TABLE 4: Enrolment figures (on campus students)

1968	134	(Full-time and Part-time Int. Students)
1969	237	"
1970	433	"
1971	671	"
1972	835	"
1973	1038	"
1974	1135	"
1975	1229	"
1976	1419	(Pre-degree, Sub-degree and degree)
1977	1572	"
1978	1617	"
1979	1765	(Prelim., Foundation, Diploma, degree)
1980	1814	"
1981	2003	"

Source: Academic Office, USP.

The true enrolment, in all USP programmes, including off campus, is just over three times the on-campus number. According to the Academic Office there are over 6000 full-time postgraduate, part time, extension, continuing education, and Institute students in addition to the internal figures (See Table 5). The steady increase in enrolment figures is due to a vigorous series of certificate and Diploma (termed 'pre-degree') programmes. As the official graduation figures show, graduates of these programmes have always outnumbered those obtaining bachelor degrees, except for 1971 and 1973.

TABLE 5: Graduation statistics

1971	32	(17 Bachelor + 13 Diplomas)
1972	90	(39 Bachelor + 51 Diplomas)
1973	122	(61 Bachelor + 61 Diplomas)
1974	158	(69 Bachelor + 89 Diplomas) + 1 MSc
1975	210	(94 Bachelor + 115 Diplomas) + 1 PhD
1976	252	(103 Bachelor + 147 Diplomas) + 1 PhD, 1 MSc, 1 MA
1977	274	(104 Bachelor + 169 Diplomas)
1978	305	(125 Bachelor + 179 Diplomas) + 1 MSc
1979	291	(110 Bachelor + 179 Diplomas) + 1 PhD, 1 MSc, 2 MA
1980	271	(120 Bachelor + 149 Diplomas)
1981	365	(174 Bachelor + 188 Dip. & Cert.) + 1 MA, 1 MSc, 1 PhD

2370 (1016 Bachelors + 1342 others + 5 MSc + 4 MA + 4 PhD)

Source: Academic Office, USP.

To give some indication of the distribution of the teaching load, Table 6 shows the 1981 enrolment for different categories of students, both on and off campus.

TABLE 6: Categories of students enrolled, 1981

Degree students		2029
Full time	1660	
Part time	348	
COP	21	
Extension (off campus)		2018
Continuing Education		1708
Institute of Education		1443
Pre-degree and sub-degree programmes		933
Institute of Pacific Studies		249
Institute of Social and Admin. Studies		206
Certificate and Diplomas in SSED		76
Post Graduate		33
Institute of Marine Resources		30
Institute of Natural Resources		15
TOTAL		8740

Source: Academic Office, USP.

To take care of these increasing student numbers, there has been an enlarging of both the academic and the non-academic staff. For some time now, non-academic staff have been drawn from Fiji and other Pacific countries, though a good proportion

of academic staff continue to come from overseas as Table 7 shows.

TABLE 7: Origin of USP Academic Staff, 1981

Category	Fiji Citizen	Pacific Regional	Other	Total
Professors, Directors of Institutes, Deans	8	3	13	24
Readers	0	0	5	5
Senior Lecturers	3	3	15	21
Lecturers, Fellows	14	2	36	52
Pre-degree staff	20	2	25	47
Technicians, Demonstrators, Staff Development Fellows	14	0	0	14
TOTAL	59	10	94	163

Source: Calendar, University of the South Pacific, 1982. Telephone Directory, University of the South Pacific, 1981.

I have divided the academic staff into six categories, with the 'other' category being expatriate (non-Pacific) members of staff. Whilst the table shows the predominance of these expatriates, particularly at the Reader and Senior Lecturer level, it also shows how poorly represented non-Fiji citizen Pacificans are at USP. This staffing profile reflects both the history of the institution and the contemporary academic scene in the English speaking world. Overall, non-Pacificans staff constitute some 59% of the total USP list, with about a third of the total being from Fiji. Earlier figures reported by Crocombe show a staff of 265 persons, with 56% being non-Pacifican.³⁴ Though the difference is small it seems to indicate that the number of non-Pacificans is increasing.

Whilst one has the impression that expatriate numbers are not so great at UPNG, there continues to be a reliance upon non-Pacificans at USP, especially for senior positions. The Vice-Chancellor mentioned previously, was from Trinidad, for example, whilst the person occupying that position at UPNG had been a local for some time. There are at least two explanations for this dominance at USP. First, the most often mentioned reason around the campus itself is that the institution is yet young and that, with time, training will continue and Pacificans will come to prevail.³⁵ The other explanation, offered by Crocombe,³⁶ himself a New Zealander with experience of USP from its foundation, is that there is simply not enough population in the Pacific from which to draw a full university staff.

Whilst I cannot offer positive figures, it seems to me that a large number of the non-Pacificans staff come from New Zealand, with perhaps equal numbers from the U.K. Amongst Pacificans, the largest single group are Fiji citizens of South Asian background. Regarding expatriates, it does seem that a number of Third World scholars may be obtaining positions, as the salaries at USP are quite low by developed country standards, relative to the cost of living.

The Schools

In addition to the institutes, mentioned in the enrolment figures above, there are four schools of the University. The academic staff to service the above number of students, as mentioned is about 163. Using the August 1981 Internal Phone Directory the teaching staff are distributed as follows:

TABLE 8: Distribution of Potential Academic Staff

School of Agriculture (SOA)	16
School of Education (SOE)	
Education	18
English	15
Home Economics	4
Industrial Arts	4
Mathematics	14
School total =	55
School of Natural Resources (SNR)	
Biology	15
Chemistry	13
Physics	14
School total =	42
School of Social & Economic Development (SSED)	
Accounting	4
Administrative Studies	5
Economics	3
Geography	6
History/Politics	7
Sociology	5
School total =	30
Total Schools' Academic Staff =	143
Institute of Education	6
Institute of Marine Resources	5
Institute of Pacific Studies	5
Institute of Natural Resources	2
Institute of Social. & Eco. Dev.	6
Centre for Applied Studies	6
Total Institutes staff =	30
TOTAL POTENTIAL TEACHING STAFF =	173

Sources: USP Calendar 1981. Internal Directory.

The above figures exclude secretaries, demonstrators, technicians and other similar support staff. No account is taken of the part-time staff, though I have included temporary full-time staff. The intention of Table 8 is to show the potential number of academic staff available to deal with the 8740 (1981) enrolment figure. As in all universities, some academic staff (usually junior ones) have heavier workloads than others. Equally so, some academic staff have more involvement in course planning, while others are concentrated in the course implementation portion of the exercise.

One of the recurrent staff problems is turnover. I mentioned above regional staff displeasure with being unable to obtain tenure. In fact, only a handful of academic staff do have tenured positions; that is, they have been appointed until retirement. Professorial staff who have been with the University since its early days have six year contracts, while the usual period is for three years. These

contracts can easily be renewed for a second three year period, though after that the conventional form is to advertise the position. The advertising of positions is especially true for non-Fiji (though not always regional) members of staff. I do not have statistical information, but the general feeling amongst staff is that when positions have been advertised, or renewal considered, often these decisions seem to be taken very near the end of the existing contract. Whatever the purpose, if one there be, of this practice, it does breed a not surprising degree of staff insecurity which in turn does have an effect on the operation of teaching programmes. When disgruntled staff can secure a position elsewhere, they usually do so and this means that entire programmes can face collapse due to staff departures.

Conclusions

This is the story of a small university and its growth over the last decade or so. The problems of its location in the South Pacific give it certain particular features, though, still in its early years, USP shares with other small Third World universities a number of similarities. These similarities lie in limitations on staff recruitment, and funding, and attempts to fit an institution designed for another context (Europe) into a foreign one. Regarding the last point, USP's difficulties with 'fit' are similar to those of other foreign derived organizations. It should not be forgotten, though, that the preparation that USP gives to its students is for them to serve in other European derived organisations, in government and business. In that sense, USP is preparing students adequately for the positions they are to hold in their societies. Students at USP are involved, or intend to become employees of, foreign modelled organisations, such as government and business and their foreign derived education, therefore, is compatible with those goals. Moreover, at this stage of the proceedings, it does seem that Pacific societies are being transformed to fit their educational and administrative institutions, rather than transnational superstructures having to adapt to local conditions. This is not a uniquely Third World problem, though it is often seen as such by some USP staff. Sociologists such as Max Weber and Emile Durkheim saw their traditional European societies being transformed by ever more elaborate state apparatus throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.³⁷ Industrialisation and elite formation (and transformation), common to Europe's nineteenth century evolution are features of the Third World today, and it should not be surprising if similar difficulties do not crop up. I do not contend that industrialisation, urbanisation, and bureaucratisation as found in Europe in the past is what the Third World is experiencing in the present. Similar processes are at work however and similar, but not identical, results may occur. Insofar as universities are in the business of training the sons and daughters of

present elite to become future elite, they are at the centre of such processes of foment and change.

There are two features of the place that do seem to represent well the local vs. international dilemma of the institution. One is a recurrent one, to do with the symbol of the place, and the other concerns USP's relation with its academic staff.

What does the USP seal signify? This insignia appears on all official publications, on diplomas and certificates, letterhead, and exists in a steel form on a \$10,000 concrete entrance sign, erected in 1981. The origin of part of the simple design seems to lie with John Collins,³⁸ a former (1970-1971) director of Extension Services, who felt he needed a 'message bearer' for his mailings. His wife designed a highly stylised *takia* (traditional Fijian canoe), sailing to the left of the page. He felt the traditional sailing craft symbolised communication through the South Pacific region served by the (then) fledgling USP. When, in 1971, it became clear that USP was to have its first batch of graduates, needing a Diploma, (and a seal), a contest was held, advertised in the daily press in March 1971 and entries were received from schools and individuals around the region. Members of the University, including students, were asked to comment of the over 200 designs submitted and, eventually two persons, Mitieli Bari and Catherine Hohensee shared the winning prize of \$F25. Collins believes that the double circles in the final design may have been inspired by the logo for the Southern Pacific Hotel Corporation.

In the evolution of the design, the *takia* reversed direction, to sail right, and was placed in the smaller circle and a cocopalms was added, in the larger one, to represent both the land and the people. This explanation is (again) from Collins and represents his interpretation. The official explanation, in USP circular (File 7/27) of 22 October 1971 declares less completely: 'The University Council has chosen a design which emphasises the place of the University in the South Pacific. It incorporates in its design a widespread natural product of the Region (a palmtree) with a traditional mode of transport throughout the University region'.

Given that the USP symbol is supposed to present the institution, it is surprising that there does not exist some public statement regarding it, as does exist for the University tapa cloth design, of more recent origin which features on the *Calendar*. What direction is the *takia* (and the University) taking? What are the elements that make up USP and how are they interpreted? Students in two large introductory courses (Exploring Man and SE122) questioned by me in 1981 took the seal for granted and were certainly unaware of its history, discovered only in a dusty file in the records office. The problem of USP's symbol and what it reveals about the purpose of the place will remain, no doubt, a recurrent issue.

The other feature of USP life concerns a debate at the end of 1981 about a proposed code of conduct for academic staff. The controversy exploded at a time (late December 1981) when staff were either departing or going on leave, if they had not already done so. It was in the form of a memorandum issued to USP Council members, authored by New Zealand lawyer and Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Don Paterson. The memorandum, the precise contents of which were not circulated officially within the university, was alleged to have requested USP's Council, its highest governing body, to consider whether a greater control over academic staff should not be exercised.³⁹ In the document, according to the newspaper story, several undesirable incidents in 1981 were mentioned as supporting the need for such a code of conduct and a draft outline of the code was proposed.

What is typical about the issue is that it was carried out in secrecy, without consultation, much in the way that USP itself is reported to have been planned. What was characteristic of the institution at its foundation seems to continue to be true today. Such an action would seem to indicate a lack of trust, even a fear, on the part of one sector of the (mainly senior and expatriate) staff for another, mostly junior one. The action of the memo seems to have been undertaken with great haste for, as Acting Vice-Chancellor Frank Brosnahan wrote in a letter 'there had been no opportunity for discussion' of the proposals.⁴⁰ Subsequent reports in the press regarding the Code of Conduct, including the *Fiji Times* Editorial urging caution in such matters,⁴¹ suggest that the Code is a real possibility and seems to indicate a contempt for USP staff on the part of the Administration. Former staff member W.G. Powis summed up the problem succinctly in his letter:

Instead of instigating an inquisition into the professional and personal integrity of staff, the USP administration should look to itself for the reasons for the high staff turnover and obviously rampant dissatisfaction felt by teaching staff and students.

*Unless the USP administration displays a true sense of discipline and responsibility, the goodwill which it still claims to enjoy will be very easily lost through its unthinking actions and selfishness.*⁴²

The code of conduct issue may, like equally heated ones in the past, simply die away as new staff come to replace old, and academics are forced to get down to the business of catering for the 8000 plus student enrolments at USP. An equally contentious issue erupted in 1980 over expatriate vs. local staff,⁴³ and differential salary schemes. No doubt subsequent years will have their special issues of resentment.

Any future history of USP, and there is definitely one to be written, to complement the Howie-Willis

& Meek volumes,⁴⁴ must take into account the issues of purpose and academic conduct, as revealed in the above two examples, for they are at the working heart of any university. Will a merger between USP and UPNG as proposed in departing Vice-Chancellor James Maraj's farewell speech come about?⁴⁵ Without purpose, USP can neither sail to the right nor the left; nor can it agree on academic conduct or allay administrative and perhaps even, public suspicion.⁴⁶

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43. Comments about expatriate staff at USP, the need to reduce them from the levels shown in Table 7, and their allegedly privileged conditions of service appeared in the *Fiji Times* of 14 July, 18 July, 19 July, 23 July, all of 1980, as well as Gibbons *op. cit.*, the latter providing much factual detail of the matter. Crocombe, *op. cit.*, discusses some of the issues involved in retrospect, in the context of Fiji Indians needing to improve their public image. A potentially interesting post script to the episode is that one of the Indian protagonists in the dispute has resigned his post at USP, upon his election to the Fiji Parliament in 1982. This turn of events, and the departure of Dr. Maraj in 1982 could have profound effects on the course that USP is to take in the near and, even, distant future.
44. Howie-Willis, *op. cit.*
45. *PIM*, 63, July 1982, p 6.

46. The February 1984 issue (p 7) of *PIM* contains a short summary of a conference to discuss USP's future, that took place in December of 1983. With Maraj's departure, the new Vice-Chancellor is Geoffrey Gaston, from the UK. Broad recommendations were made at the conference to reduce and consolidate "its activities in areas no longer felt to be necessary". The areas to be emphasised in future would be applied studies, and business studies, the latter "with a programme incorporating economics, accounting, commercial law, computers and administration". Another recent innovation is the building up of the Alafua campus in Western Samoa, from 1984, this in the face of that country's plans to found its own national university.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

From Dr T. Brown,
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I suspect there has been some skating over thin ice in the otherwise valuable article of Michael Bracher and Gigi Santow, "Past Growth and Its Implications for the Future Development of the A.N.U.", (*Vestis*, Vol. 27, No. 1.). I refer to the points made about the relative proportion of male and female academics in The Faculties at A.N.U.

It would seem that the thin ice of their argument concealed the deep water of an under-representation of women in The Faculties at A.N.U.

While no one could possibly fault their logic that as women obtained only 8% of Ph.D. degrees then they should have only 8% of positions where a Ph.D. degree was required, that is 75% of all positions, with this bringing their share of total positions to 6%. However, if they obtained a reasonable share of those positions not requiring a Ph.D., that is half of them, then surely their representation among all positions would be 18%. As their latest showing was in fact 13% of all positions, then women would appear to be under-represented to the extent of at least 5%.

In addition, the article lead me to the conclusion that those other women graduating with Ph.D. degrees with me some years ago must have been a mirage, that is those women over the 8%, a total of 25% of the whole graduating group. On the other hand, they may have been a Melbournian hiccup that was smothered by statistical translation to the national scene.

Thea Brown
15 June 1984